1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584 ●

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

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POLYGYNY

595 In reconstructing the past from legends and traditions one gains the impression that monogamy was general, but that several men, owing to their power or wealth, could afford many wives. The last supporters of paganism were certain chiefs who, having several wives, hesitated to become Christian lest they be obliged to part with them (230, vol. 6, p. 565). However, not all the chiefs availed themselves of this privilege and at the time of European contact there were only a few persons with several mates. No conclusion can be drawn from this situation since at that period there were just half as many women as men. I was told that the chiefs or persons of rank (*tangata honui*) were allowed several wives who were supposed to live in separate houses to avoid fighting—this last detail is perhaps a modern rationalization. Iri, Victoria's grandfather, had eight wives. A man generally resided with the first wife (*vie rae*), but sometimes several favorite wives lived with him. Viriamo, Tepano's mother, had been the second wife of a man of the Miru tribe (194, p. 227).

What truth there is in Thomson's statement (215, p. 465) that a husband could sell or lease his wife to another for a stated term I do not know. This may be an allusion to polyandric habits, as in the Marquesas. In the legend of Hamea and Raa, the two brothers live successively with the same woman. Some natives are said not to be very particular about their wives' adulteries with foreigners if some profit is to be gained.

MARRIAGE CEREMONY

[582] Young men now marry at about the age of 20; girls marry a little earlier.
585 If they have the mutual consent of their parents, a ceremony is performed at the church under the direction of the catechist. As the marriage is not considered entirely valid until it is blessed by a priest, they usually wait for the coming of the frigate *Baquedano* to have all unions consecrated by the chaplain. I have numerous proofs of the importance attached to the parents' con-
● 584 sent for marriage, but Roussel (190, pp. 465-466), who lived many years among the natives in the early sixties of the nineteenth century, asserts: "Marriages were contracted without consulting the will of the parents. They were decided by inclination." Roussel made the same statement to Palmer (168, p. 281) and to Gana (86, p. 39).

583 Although they visited the island at the same time and had access to the same source of information, Thomson and Cooke make contradictory state-
[584] ments concerning the formalities of marriage. Thomson (215, p. 465) says, "the betrothal is conducted by parents, the relations of the female paying a stipulated amount generally in food to be consumed by the friends at the feast given to celebrate the event." Cooke (54, pp. 716-717) states that the bride-

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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836 by the people as a necking party is in the United States. There is seldom, if ever,
any secrecy surrounding such momentary love matches, and whereas the girls come
[522] in for a certain amount of joking from the older people, it is the boys who bear
the greater brunt of the jokes. A term commonly heard in such joking sessions is
that of *muy tatani* (very devilish) and it is used to describe the feelings of a young
[797] man or woman toward his, or her, partner. Such premarital affairs are regarded
as quite normal and natural, in spite of the nominal acceptance of the Catholic
[832] faith, and, as my workmen once pointed out, a young man is naturally *muy toro*
and must have his girls and stay up late at night. However, when a person reaches
the age of about thirty he is described as being only *medio torito*.

848 Should a child be born out of wedlock there is never a curse on mother, child,
or father. On Easter Island, as in many parts of the rural world, a large family
[842] is looked upon as highly desirable since the children can eventually help with the
work. With this concept well entrenched in the culture of the island, a girl bring-
ing a child with her into marriage constitutes an advantageous acquisition.

431 A side light on the problems of courting comes from a statement made by
836 Martin Rapu, one of our foremen. Martin reflected that when he was young and
unmarried (he is now twenty-two and was married at twenty) he changed girls
often and it was much trouble and quiet costly, for he had to give each new girl
[581] presents from time to time. Finally his father advised him to get married, for he,
the father, could no longer afford the gifts that Martin needed each time he
changed girls. Martin then added that he had found married life a lot calmer and
more peaceful than that of his premarital years.

584 When a boy has finally decided upon the girl he wants to marry he may ask
for her through her parents in one of two ways. He may go personally to the girl's
father or mother and ask for the girl. If he is accepted he returns home immedi-
ately and notifies his father of the fact. The father then goes to the house of the
girl's parents and the two families give a party to which their respective extended
family relatives are invited. Both families join in furnishing liquor and food for the
affair, though the boy's father may go through the ceremony of pouring the first
[583] round of drinks. At this time there appears to be a small exchange of gifts be-
tween the families, apparently no more than a token exchange, for Jorge mentioned
that a little money might change hands, but in telling of it he did not seem to
regard it as much of anything.

The second method of arranging a marriage is for the youth to tell his father
of the girl he wishes to marry. It then becomes the father's duty to go to the
house of the girl and, bringing with him a little liquor, ask the father or mother
of the girl for permission for his son to marry her. Consent appears to be primarily

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up to the parents, though Jorge mentioned that other relatives might be consulted at this time. However, such consultation cannot be long extended, for consent — or rejection — is given very shortly. If accepted, the father of the boy immediately pours some drinks and both families and their relatives are sent for and a party is given that very day. 584

MARRIAGE

When a couple is about to marry, the father of the bridegroom designates one of his brothers to collect presents from the family. Those who are supposed to give at this time are the father's brothers and sisters, cousins, *compadres*, and certain individuals related by marriage.[3] Of considerable interest is the fact that the male members of the father's *tumu*, or — to use the islander's present Spanish term — *aliados*, must give presents at this time.[4] Although the *tumu* no longer operates to the extent that marriage must be within the *tumu*, though such is looked upon with high favor, its continued existence is clearly recognized in that not only do its members give marriage gift-exchange presents to any one of their members whose son or daughter is being married, but they are automatically invited to any feasts given by any member of the *tumu*. 583 602 613 [582]

The gifts collected at this time, which may consist of foodstuffs, cows, pigs, cloth, or money, are turned over to the bridegroom's father who then invites the bride's father and her extended family to a feast, and they come bringing guitars for singing and dancing. After the feast the bridegroom's father presents to the bride's father the accumulated gifts his brother has collected. At such a time the gifts may often be spread out in the form of a boat. 583 584

Some time after the bride's father has received his gifts, one of his brothers or sisters is designated to collect gifts from the bride's family which are then turned over to the bride's father. It is now his turn to invite the bridegroom's father and extended family to his home for a feast, after which the collected gifts are presented to the bridegroom's father. In all of this, the engaged couple receive nothing, for, as Jorge pointed out, when they get married they will have each other and that is sufficient.

Although common law marriages unaccompanied by ceremony still exist, the 583 585

3 I was unable to determine precisely which relatives by marriage must present gifts, in that I found out too late that Easter Islanders use the Spanish word *cuñado*, or brother-in-law, loosely to include husbands of cousins and even nieces, not all of whom are required to give presents.

4 A *tumu* is a group of lineages into which, in former times, a man might marry. The *tumu* to which the Topano family belongs, for example, consists of the Topano, Pakomio, and Puoa lineages. [582]

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marriage. For example, in discussing what would happen if a husband committed adultery, Jorge explained that if the wife found out, or the husband was "too open" about his affair, not only would the wife become very angry but his father-in-law would come to the house and have a severe talk with him. Again, when Martin Rapu was given an opportunity by the Chilean government to go to the continent it was necessary for him to obtain permission to make the trip from Jorge Tepano, his father-in-law. Jorge refused to consent on the basis that, not only was Martin's house incomplete,[5] but he still owed Jorge several sheets of corrugated iron roofing. Should Martin leave the island he would be unable to return the items, for he would not be included in the following year's ration list. When Martin's father interceded in his son's behalf, Jorge questioned the father by saying, "Why do you want your son to go, for if he goes it is you that must take care of my daughter and that will cost you money."

In this statement we see at least one of the roles of the wife's father-in-law, i.e., as the protector of his son's wife. This role of protector is still very common, if not universal, on the island but, as far as I can gather, comes into play only when the husband is actually leaving the island for any extended time. The responsibilities of this position are fully understood and respected by the wife to the extent that, in one instance, the governor of the island, Commander Curti, was forced to go to a woman's father-in-law to obtain permission for the woman to work for Mrs Curti in the governor's mansion. In this instance the woman was fully mature, being well along in her forties, but her husband had gone to Chile to work and therefore the decision had to be made by her father-in-law.

Further evidence of the important position held by the girl's father in a marriage is seen in the *koro* ceremony which is given by a young husband for his father-in-law to show him what a good son-in-law he has. This is a post-marriage rite which may be given up to a year or two after the couple has married. During the intervening period the husband's extended family helps him collect as many roosters as possible. When a sufficient number have been accumulated, the husband invites his wife's immediate relatives and her extended family to a feast. When the feasting has been completed, the collected roosters appear, each rooster individually tied to a single long rope stretched out upon the ground. There may be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty birds tied to such a rope. With the termination of the feasting the husband presents the string of roosters to his father-

5 I came across several cases on the island where the lack of a house, or the incompleteness of a house, was given as the reason for a man's not taking a trip away from the island. The need to properly house one's family before setting off on a long trip appears paramount in the eyes of the Rapa-nui.

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584 in-law as a gift. The father-in-law accepts the gift and immediately gives a rooster
574 to each of his brothers and sisters. If one of his brothers has given a feast in his
431 honor,[6] he will then take the remainder of the string of birds and drape it over
[606] the neck of this particular brother. In doing this he gives the brother the honor of starting the apportioning of the roosters among the members of the extended family. The brother so honored takes the roosters and gives them to his wife who, after taking one herself, passes the string down through the relatives until each has one of the birds. In this act the brother has, in effect, been given the same honor as that of the "secretary," or *motuha*, who distributes the gifts at the time of a wedding.

174 The strong position of a wife's father may hark back to an earlier custom
584 whereby a mother or father, noting a hard-working bachelor with a good planta-
606 tion of yams, *camote*, sugar cane, etc., presented their daughter to the man for
581 his acceptance or rejection. Neither the desires of the daughter nor the age of the bachelor in relation to the girl's was considered.

584 The operation of such a marriage was described as follows. Noting a hard-working bachelor and seeing in him an opportunity for a "wealthy" marriage for their daughter, the father of the girl would either send his daughter to the man, or more commonly, take her to the bachelor's home. Upon entering the house, the father would ask, "Where are you?" and the bachelor would answer, "Here I am," whereupon the father would leave the girl in the house and say, "Here." If the bachelor accepted the girl he immediately went outside and gathered together chickens, yams, *camotes*, and other foods to make a big *umu* feast for the
[586] girl's father. However, if at some future date the girl's father felt that his daughter's husband was no longer working hard in his fields or at fishing, he had the right to come and take her away and give her to some other man. In extreme cases a girl was allowed to leave her husband and return home.

177 Today such forced marriages no longer exist, but a father may counsel his
584 daughter to marry some hard-working bachelor of his choice. If she refuses he will wait awhile and again counsel her, repeating this advice until she marries the
[581] man. As one of my informants put it, "He will keep counseling her until the idea and the advantages of such a marriage are well in her head." In such marriages one interesting change has been made. No daughter is "counseled" into a marriage with a man too much older than she, for, "See how much older brothers fight with their too young sisters — it is the same with such a marriage."

6 Presumably this refers to a *hare*, although according to Métraux such feasts honoring a brother were not common.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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461 to lie around and gossip, to smoke, to sit and "moon" over the industry, the greatness, and the monuments of his ancestors, the degeneracy and decadence of his race, perhaps, and his own utter and ineradicable worthlessness individually. Natural covetousness and desire for the possession of lucre may tempt him to serve the white man for a time, but he soon tires of his work, which speedily becomes irksome to him. And while he may exert himself a trifle occasionally, in the way of fishing, or in the cultivation of an 8 by 10 patch of sugar cane, taro, and sweet potato, it is only as a matter of necessity, to keep body and soul together, and he infinitely prefers idleness and the enjoyment of his *dolce far niente*.

273 Intoxicating drinks of any description, even kava, so common in the islands to the westward, are unknown to these people, and neither do Mr. Salmon, or the other foreign residents, keep any liquors in their possession. While, therefore, it is true that here, as elsewhere among uncivilized peoples, contact with the European has been attended by their gradual extinction, it can not be said that all the usual factors obtain in this instance, since neither the venereal poison nor intoxicants exist on the island. Consequently, these can not be assigned as causes of the decadence of the Rapa Nuis. Deportation, forced and voluntary,
161 smallpox, and customs, elsewhere mentioned in this paper, will explain their gradual extinction, in part, at least, while the fact remains that their seemingly inevitable destiny was vastly accelerated when the white man set foot upon their mysterious, mid-ocean island.

304 The rite of circumcision, so common in the other islands, is unknown here, nor does their language possess an equivalent word.

162 As may be inferred from the preponderance of the male over the
562 female portion of the community the latter are in demand, and the sup-
595 ply not being equal to it, the women are a source of great solicitude; much
589 consideration is shown them; they are fairly well taken care of, and are treated, generally, with kindness, not to say affection. Polygamy, under the circumstances, does not, of course, exist and celibacy, it may be said, only from necessity, since there are not enough females.

595 While it can not be truthfully claimed that polyandry, in the strict acceptation of the term, obtains among them, they have a custom which very nearly approaches that practice, as will appear presently.

584 At the present day the ceremonies of the church, measurably at least, govern their marriages; nevertheless the ancient custom still prevails, to a considerable extent, and in a few words it is this: When a boy arrives at the age of, say 12 years, his father looks about him for a suitable life-companion, of the opposite sex, for the young hopeful. Having discovered one to his liking the father proceeds to interview the parents of the damsel, who is perhaps of the same age, or more
584 likely younger than her prospective lord, declares his intentions matri-
583 monial and negotiations are then entered into. After a due amount of haggling as to the value of the girl, during which the parents of the

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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latter endeavor to "bull" the market, while those of the boy do their utmost to "bear" the commodity under appraisement, the price is finally agreed upon and the bargain is concluded, the consideration being a specified quantity of sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, chickens, etc., to be paid the girl's parents. A day is then fixed upon; relatives and friends are notified; due preparations are made at the girl's house, to which the articles mentioned have meanwhile been sent, and at the time appointed, all interested being present, a grand feast is held, at which, as a rule, everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl, is consumed. That important business being finished, bride and groom retire to the residence of the parents of the latter, by whom the bride is adopted as their own child, and thenceforth the parties are husband and wife.

The cares and the obligations of matrimony, as well as of parentage, sit lightly upon the Rapa Nuiis. Although marital infidelity may be rare, it is stated that a husband will, in consideration of a certain quantity of produce, make over all right in his wife to another for a specified period, at the expiration of which time he will take back the wife and she again becomes the partner of his joys and sorrows. This might be called polygamy in another form.

Fixing the average at three gives, I think, a very fair estimate of the number of children to a family, and the lack of fecundity among them will readily be explained by the early child marriages, customs, habits of life, intermarriage, and the degeneracy of the race.

In these people the lower part of the body and extremities were found well developed, and in the women more so than would be supposed from their slight physique. In the latter the skin was lighter in color in the unexposed than in the exposed parts. The hips are broad and full, the thighs large, round, and firm, and legs straight and tapering to the ankles, which, with the feet, were small and delicate. They are but sparingly hirsute. The breasts of those examined were moderately large, full, round, firm, and carried well up on the chest. The nipples were quite small, but with good-sized areola, which latter presented, in some instances, that peculiar puffy, translucent appearance, as though filled with serum, often seen throughout the other Pacific Islands. The Rapa Nuiis differed from these in that the areola was not so large nor of so deep a tint, the writer having seen them in other islands covering half the breast and nearly black in color.

The skin of the woman examined, where not covered with tattooing, was nearly as light in color as that of the average brunette, and very fine, smooth, soft, and delicate.

There seems to be no doubt that, with all their apparent mildness and good nature, the baser passions and savage instincts of these people are strong within them, and instances of inhumanity occasionally crop out among them. A case which came under the notice of Dr. Whitaker was that of a woman who was suffering from spinal deformity, the result

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination. We collected a certain number of genealogical trees, the various dramatis personæ being for this purpose represented by matches or buttons. It was not a very popular line of research, the cry being apt to be raised, "Now let's talk of something interesting"; but some two hundred names were in this way placed in their family groups, with details of clan, place of residence and colour, and some knowledge obtained with regard to many more. It is not of course enough ground on which to found any theory, but it was very useful in checking information gathered in other ways. Only in one case was it possible to get back beyond the great-grandfather of our informant, but the knowledge of family connections was often greater than would be found among Europeans. The number of childless marriages was striking.

The early story of Viriamo (fig. 83), the oldest woman living in our day, gives a picture of this primitive state of things. She belonged to the clan of Ureohei, and her family had lived for some generations, as far back as could be remembered, on the edge of the eastern volcano, not far from Raraku. The great-grandfather, who was dark, had as his only wife a white woman of the Hamea. Their son was white, and had two wives, one of the Tupahotu and one of the Ngaure. By the first, although she also was white, he had a dark son who married a white wife of his own clan, Ureohei, but of a different group. Viriamo was the second of their eight children, all of whom were white save herself and her eldest brother. Four of the girls died young in the epidemic of smallpox in 1864. Viriamo and two of her sisters were initiated as children into the bird rite.[1] When older she was tattooed with rings round her forehead and with the dark-blue breeches. Somewhat later, but still as a young woman, she went over to Anakena and had her ears pierced, but she never had the lobe extended, preferring to let it remain small. When asked about her marriage, she bridled as coyly as a young girl. Her first union was a matter of arrangement, the husband, who was also of the Ureohei, giving her father much food, and, if she had refused to accept the situation, she would, she said, have been beaten. There was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over. The house was near the two statues with

[1] See below, pp. 266–68.